prove their peacefulness. A people that lives by the chase and glories in hand-to-hand combats with such adversaries as the polar and the brown bear can hardly be lacking in physical courage. But the Copper Eskimo is the reverse of foolhardy; courage with him is nearly always subordinated to prudence. Except in his hunting, when the tradition of a long line of ancestors makes boldness a merit, a native will never accept a risk unless the odds are greatly in his favour. He will never fight an enemy on equal terms, but will wait until he can overwhelm him with superior numbers or strike him behind his back."

1: Jenness--235
116, 181, 577

(1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo

"To the Copper Eskimo goodness means social goodness, that and no more. Whatever directly affects the welfare of the community as a whole is morally good or bad, while whatever relates to the individual alone, or affects the community so remotely that its influence is barely perceptible to their short-sighted view, is neither good nor bad. The foremost virtues therefore are peacefulness and good-nature, courage and energy, patience and endurance, honesty, hospitality, charity towards both the old and the young, loyal co-operation with one's kin and providence in all questions relating to the food-supply. Fair-dealing (apart from the relations with one's kin) and truthfulness have only a secondary place, while sexual purity is hardly considered as coming within the scope of morals at all.

Their peacefulness has been recorded by earlier observers. Thus Collinson remarks, 'They have left us with the impression that they are a kind-hearted well-disposed people.... They at first with us carried their knives with the blade up their sleeves and the haft in the hand, in readiness for immediate use; but notwithstanding the dread of our firearms may have kept them quiet, I am inclined to think they are an inoffensive race.' (1) The lack of any organization for war and their avoidance of the Indians (so much in contrast to the Mackenzie river Eskimos) would alone suffice to

"1. Collinson, p. 286."

1: Jenness--235-236 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 577

"Earlier visitors to the country have extolled also their honesty. Rae notices that they had a great respect for caches of any kind. 'On the 30th we reached [236] our cache of the 16th, and found it, as well as two others, perfectly safe, notwithstanding that one, or perhaps all of them, had been seen by the Esquimaux. '(1) Osborn remarked of the Minto inlet natives that 'They seemed very simple and honest; and when presented with anything, they appeared incapable of supposing that anyone would give them an article without expecting an equivalent. ' (2) Even as late as 1912 Douglas from the region of Great Bear lake could say, 'Everything was all right at the little shack; there were signs that the Eskimos had made a large camp close to it since we had been there, but nothing had been disturbed. Even an axe, an article of inestimable value to them, was just where it had been left. (3) Mr. Stefansson never heard of any thefts nor learned the native word for 'stealing. ' (4) Thefts do sometimes occur nevertheless.

"1. Journ. Royal Geogr. Soc., Vol. 22, 1852, p. 80."
"2. Osborn, p. 190."
"3. Douglas, p. 226."
"4. Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H.,' Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 131 et seq."

Milukkattak was careful to cache a fork that I had given her when we went to look for the Prince Albert sound natives for fear that the latter might steal it; and Higilak accused Mikinrok of stealing some of her sinew. The absolute lack of privacy in their lives, however, makes concealment very difficult, and partly for this reason, and partly because the average native is naturally inclined to be honest and upright, theft is comparatively rare among themselves. Their morality being based on purely social sanctions that hardly operate outside the community, the same restraint is not always observed towards strangers, as we found to our cost. Not only did they steal many articles from our station, but they even robbed one of our caches along the coast, a far more serious offense in the Arctic.

Much kindness and unselfishness is displayed within each little community. During my sojourn on Victoria island I had to diet myself for a time on a little dog- pemmican, in order to recruit my strength after a rather serious illness. According to native etiquette I should have shared my pemmican with the Eskimos of the party, who were indeed very partial to it; but almost invariably they declined it even when they were themselves short of food. One evening not only did they refuse any pemmican, but they even pressed some of their own food on me, although they knew there was nothing left for the morning. I needed it all, they said, and as for them, they could get along very well without it."

1: Jenness--237 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 577

"Truthfulness is a virtue that varies greatly everywhere with different individuals. Among the Copper Eskimos there were a few natives whose word could be relied upon absolutely on every occasion, others who generally told the truth, but were apt to be influenced by circumstances, and some who would lie deliberately for little or no reason. Ilatsiak, voicing a common opinion, said that the thoughts go round and round in the heart, then the words come up from the body and issue through the mouth. If a man speaks the truth their course is straight, but when he lies they twist and curve in their passage upwards and issue from one corner of his mouth. It is no disgrace to be detected in a lie for no harm is done to the community; ekkoivaktutin, 'You're a liar,' is a common everyday expression of which no one takes very much notice; the culprit usually retorts in kind, or else merely laughs, considering it rather a joke that he should be found out. Their sense of shame, in fact, is not very highly developed; the majority of the natives merely look foolish, for instance, if caught in the act of stealing, and repent their clumsiness, not their wrong-doing."

11: Stefansson--188
116, 577

(1908-1912) 1913

Copper Eskimo

"May 15, 1910, was the third day after our discovery of the Dolphin and Union Straits Eskimo. For two days they had entertained us with warm hospitality, and had already grounded firmly in my mind the impression which a year of further association with them was destined to do nothing to weaken--that they are the equals of the best of our own race in good breeding, kindness, and the substantial virtues. They were men and women of the Stone Age truly, but they differed little from you or me or from the men and women who are our friends and families."

22: Richardson--351-352 (1848-49) 1851 Copper Eskimo-1
116, 577, 685

[first part of paragraph omitted]
"....our presence at Fort Confidence was sufficient to determine various bands of Hare Indians, Dog-ribs and Martin-lake Indians, to resort to the north-eastern arm of Great Bear Lake; and but for a deadly feud with the Dog-ribs, which twenty years ago greatly reduced the number of our old friends, the Copper Indians, we should have had their company also. The Eskimos, on the contrary, [as opposed to the neighboring Indian tribes] have a strong respect for their territorial rights, and maintain them with firmness. We learned at Cape Bathurst that each [352] head of a small community had a right to the point of land on which his winter house or cluster of houses stood, and to the hunting grounds in its vicinity. We had also evidence, at various places on the coast, of the unwillingness of these people to appropriate the goods of their absent neighbors, even when we, not knowing the proper owner, tempted them by the offer of a price much beyond the value of the article in their eyes. The answer on such occasions was, 'That belongs to a man who is not here.' We also saw on the coast stages on which provisions, furs, lamps, and other articles were placed, while the owners had gone inland; and hoards of blubber, secured from animals by stone walls, but without any attempt at concealment. 'Tiglikpok' (he is a thief) is a term of reproach among themselves; but they steal without scruple from strangers, and with a dexterity which training and long practice alone can

give. Nor did they appear ashamed when detected, or blush at our reproofs. I believe that on this point their code is Spartan, and that to steal boldly and adroitly from a stranger is an act of heroism."

22: Richardson--352-353 (1848-49) 1851 Copper Eskimo
116, 152, 577

"[JMR: Not confined to Copper Eskimo] In personal courage, the Eskimos are superior to the Chepewyans, Crees, or any other Indian nation with whom I am acquainted. The Hare Indians and Dog-ribs dread them, and even when much [353] superior in numbers, would fly on their approach. Nor do the firearms which the bolder Kutchin have lately acquired enable that people to lord it over the Eskimos, or encroach on their grounds."